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通识读本

# 走近世界音乐

## World Music

A Very Short Introduction

Philip V. Bohlman 著

汤亚汀 译

外语教学与研究出版社  
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# Preface

At the beginning of the 21st century it is impossible to define world music without slipping down a tautological slope. World music is that music we encounter, well, everywhere in the world. World music can be folk music, art music, or popular music; its practitioners may be amateur or professional. World music may be sacred, secular, or commercial; its performers may emphasize authenticity, while at the same time relying heavily on mediation to disseminate it to as many markets as possible. World music's consumers may use it as they please; they may celebrate it as their own or revel in its strangeness. The old definitions and distinctions don't hold anymore; world music can be Western or non-Western, acoustic or electronically mixed. The world of world music has no boundaries, therefore access to world music is open to all. There's ample justification to call just about anything world music.

World music is inseparable from another equally difficult to define phenomenon of our age, globalization. By the end of the year 2001, above all in the wake of the events of September 11th, it was no longer possible to deny the impact of globalization even on local, on-the-street realities. It remains hard to pin down, much less define, but few have failed to recognize the paradox in the rhetoric and reality of globalization. It's both good and bad, a worldview to be celebrated and vilified, a force that can contain the world but also a movement that must be contained by force. It could be said that globalization

has two meanings, or indeed that it opens up two ways of encountering the world, and most people ally themselves with one or the other.

The two meanings of globalization are emblematic of the two contradictory ways in which 'world music' is understood today. In the course of this book I rely on both meanings for my own examination of what world music is today, paradoxes and all. For many, world music represents much that is right in the world, indeed, the very possibility that music and music-making bring people together. The sheer volume of world music – on the radio, CDs, and the Internet, and in university classrooms and books with diverse readerships – has never been greater. When it comes to celebrating globalization, world music is always within earshot.

There's also the darker side to world music. World music can raise fears that we are losing much that is close to home. Its homogenizing effect threatens village practices as it privileges the spaces of the global village. Its dissemination across the globe depends on the appropriation of transnational recording companies, whose primary interests are to exploit cultural resources. Fusion and border-crossing may enrich some world-music styles, but they impoverish others. At the beginning of the 21st century, there is much about the rhetoric and reality of globalization that has given world music a bad name.

In this book I seek a middle ground. I urge the reader both to look critically at the ways in which musicians and managers have turned to world music to appropriate and exploit traditional music and to recognize how the abundance of world music today offers the opportunity to experience the diversity of human societies like never before. The middle ground I seek does not avoid the dual meanings evident in the rhetoric of globalization or the discourse of world music, but rather it endeavours to represent the space of encounter, which is also the space in which the history of world music has unfolded. Accordingly, the middle ground in this book also affords me the opportunity to wrestle with the dilemma faced by all authors of these

'Very Short Introductions': dealing with a vast topic in a deliberately restricted space.

If there were a moment when globalization became truly globalized, it would appear to be the summer and autumn of 2001, during which time I completed the final revisions of this book. The rhetoric of globalization has reached new heights, and the word itself has become a household term. In the academic world, it has come of age as high theory, and few disciplines have managed to avoid its seductiveness at some level. Unquestionably, the key word on the 2001 conference circuit was globalization: on 18–19 May 2001, for example, my own university hosted an event called the 'Third Annual Globalization Conference'. Globalization had seemingly won the day, providing theory and discourse for scholars of various stripes and from throughout the world, so that they could tackle the big issues of modern times.

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More striking to the average residents of the global community was the extent to which the rhetoric of globalization mobilized many fellow residents to action. During the summer of 2001 the debates over globalization quite literally spilled onto the streets, notably at the mid-July 'G8 Summit', an event that brought together the representatives of a collective customarily designated as the 'world's seven wealthiest nations plus Russia'. In 2001, the summit convened in Genoa, Italy, where it was greeted by tens of thousands of protesters, who represented a broad range of political agendas, all now subsumed under the rubric 'anti-globalization'. In every imaginable permutation, the rhetoric of globalization fragmented into countless buzzwords. There was talk of 'global trade agreements' and 'global warming', 'global markets' and the 'global economy'. The rhetoric, nonetheless, was powerless when it came to stemming the problems at hand, the local problems that erupted when the anti-globalists rioted in the streets, clashed with the police mustered to defend the cause of globalization, and slid into a conflict that produced destruction, injury, and death.

In the aftermath of the events of September 11th, the rhetoric of globalization entered a radically new phase. The attacks themselves

were directed toward 'symbols' of globalization, the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The perpetrators were members of 'global terror networks', and stemming their spread required that a 'global alliance against terror' be mustered. World culture and world history were at stake, thus making it necessary to fight the war on terrorism on a 'global scale'. The rhetoric of globalization spread, but the possibilities of what it might really mean also multiplied. Many more people in the world imagined they felt the presence of globalization more directly in their own lives, but few were any closer to knowing whether it was something that brought comfort or that had the potential to destabilize the world as they knew it.

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The unchecked proliferation of perspectives on globalization in 2001 also shed light on the vastly different meanings of world music. The term world music is itself relatively new, let's say two decades old. Prior to the early 1980s, all-encompassing terms to describe the musics of the world were rare, with preference given to regional categories or designations of genres; one studied and wrote about 'African music' or 'folk music', not world music. In the 1980s, the field of ethnomusicology took a turn toward what we might call big issues, approaching them comparatively and with more consciously interdisciplinary methods, and it followed that world music, for example in Bruno Nettl's highly influential writing, commanded greater attention. It was also during the 1980s that world music found its way into college and university music curricula, again as the result of a perceived need to study all the world's musics. Initially an alternative to 'Western art music', world music embraced more and more areas in the academic music curriculum, inspiring widespread rethinking of how music itself was to be taught.

World music is also that phenomenon that greets one on the new floors of large record shops, or in the 'international' bins of the CD sections in book shops. This is the world music that is omnipresent whenever we step into chain coffee shops, several of which market their own world-music CD blends next to their global coffee blends. In a word, this world music is traditional music repackaged and marketed as popular music. This world music, too, owes its origins to the 1980s, when the executives

of record companies and advertising specialists determined that popular music from outside the Anglo-American and European mainstreams needed a distinctive name. During the 1980s, the record industry toyed with a few other names – worldbeat, world fusion, ethnopop, even tribal and new age – but by the 1990s, it was world music that enjoyed by far the greatest currency. Again, it was an issue of the truly global implications of the name itself. Maybe this kind of world music really was limited to the appropriation of traditional music as popular music, but its claims to globalization were surely well founded.

Given this preoccupation with the global signalled by the several meanings of ‘world’, one understands perfectly well why there is a tendency when approaching a subject as seemingly boundless as ‘world music’ to try to capture some measure of its vastness and variety. The wonder of it all, one might imagine, should ultimately entice and seduce the reader. There is an equally strong countertendency, however, that urges one to find something singular and unitary about a global phenomenon, thus to condense it and make it manageable for the reader. It is my goal in this Very Short Introduction to strike a balance between these two approaches. On one hand, I write as an ethnomusicologist, therefore world music is for me all the musics of the world. With that approach in mind, I have written this book so that it might give readers some sense of difference and might encourage them to ask why humans use music in so many ways: What does world music tell us about the diversity of human cultures? On the other hand, world music at the beginning of the 21st century has all the trappings of globalization, whose theorists endeavour to explain why cultural phenomena have increasingly come to demonstrate similarity. World music has long been mustered by both camps to provide evidence for new theories, whether they stress cultural relativism or universalism. Neither way of imagining world music is wrong; neither tells the whole story. For these reasons, this introduction attempts to negotiate the space between what world musics really are and what they are imagined to be.

Before readers get the feeling that I am equivocating about what world

music is – simply acquiescing to the validity of all possible meanings – it is only fair for me to reveal some of the meanings world music has for me, meanings that have shaped the way I approach it in this book.

World music is very much a construct of modernity, which is to say the encounter with and interpretation of the world that was unleashed by the Age of Discovery, the Enlightenment, colonial expansion, and the rise of the nation-state. Asserting that there is music everywhere in the world is, therefore, a Western concept, if it is also, however, a concept that results from Western encounters with the world. ‘Encounter’ is a crucial concept throughout the book. Encounters mark important historical moments; encounters bring about change, even revolution; encounters create the conditions for exchange. Cultural encounter itself is by no means Western; nonetheless, the growing sense in the past 500 years that encounter is not isolated but rather has ramifications for world history is.

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At the beginning of the 21st century, then, world music is not simply the music of an exotic ‘other’. Our encounters with the world have become quotidian, and music mediates those encounters, whether we perceive that or not. It is not simply a matter that television advertisement regularly draws on South Asian and West African drumming; it is not the weaving of world-music tracks into film soundtracks; it is not only the fact that Protestant hymnals are increasingly multicultural or that the Catholic Mass is musically familiar to every ethnic community in the metropolis; nor is it that Sufism has become a world religion mediated by world music; it does not even stop with the legal cases about musical ownership or the limits of downloading music from the Internet. It is, rather, the confluence of all these phenomena, which too must be understood as encounters that are imagined and mediated by the West. World music is an inescapable everyday experience, whether or not we understand what it means. In this Very Short Introduction I strongly make the case that there is much to be gained from understanding what it does mean.

This book unfolds as a series of thematic leitmotifs, each one assuming the form of a chapter. Though the chapter-length leitmotifs differ, the

ways in which they are treated are similar, thereby making it possible to strive toward a certain degree of coverage while admitting to its limitations. All chapters employ the same structure, in other words, the same six sections through which I pursue the leitmotif of the different chapters. Each chapter begins with an encounter, and it proceeds through a series of historical, theoretical, and aesthetic sections via vignettes of musicians and scholars before arriving at popular music and the present. Within each chapter, therefore, I strive for internal consistency, returning in subsequent chapters to a point of beginning so that each chapter might become a narrative of encounter for the reader. The schema below summarizes the organizational structure of each chapter:

- i: Encounter with world music
- ii: Historical or theoretical excursus
- iii: Profile of a musician
- iv: Aesthetic issue, especially an examination of meaning and identity
- v: Profile of an ethnomusicologist or group of world-music scholars
- vi: Ethnographic present and popular music

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Many of the encounters that fill the book are my own, in one way or another. They may come, more or less directly, from my own fieldwork; they may represent, rather more indirectly, musical practices that I have experienced through theoretical engagement, for example my special concern with the relation between religion and music; they may also arise from my own attempts to forge an approach that would enable me and, I hope, others to understand something of the whole of world music. This approach, then, is meant to encourage the reader to engage more directly with world music as *experience*.

It should not go without saying that the chapter organization I have employed for this book helps me deal with the problem of representative or equal coverage of all the world's music. Few readers will fail to notice rather quickly that all world musics do not make it into the book; they will also recognize that I return rather frequently to some parts of the world and to some repertoires of music, whereas others receive more

fleeting visits. In fact, I feel no need to make excuses or offer disclaimers for the music that is *not* in this book. Tokenism does not solve the problem of representative coverage, but rather exacerbates it, all the more so in a short introduction. More to the point, I understand many of the sections in the book as points of departure, or rather as invitations to readers who might wish to turn first encounters into excursions and experiences of their own. At the beginning of the 21st century, our everyday encounters with world music make this eminently possible.

This book was not initially my idea but that of George Miller, who stewards the Very Short Introductions through Oxford University Press. George put his faith in my ability to carry out the project, and I hope he recognizes in the end result even a small measure of my deep appreciation. I was especially fortunate that four very different readers – a current university music student; a former PhD student at the University of Chicago, now teaching ethnomusicology at Taiwan Cheng-kung University in China; a trusted colleague at Chicago; and a distinguished pedagogue at the Open University in the UK – were willing to offer comments and suggestions on the final version of the manuscript: very special thanks for their time and insights go to Andrea Bohlman, Pi-yen Chen, Martin Stokes, and Martin Clayton. In writing a book on world music, one constantly realizes the ways communities and collectives shape what music means, locally and globally. Over the course of many years my students have constituted an especially meaningful collective, shaping my thinking about world music again and again. As a symbol of my appreciation for what my students have done for me, I am especially pleased to dedicate this book to them.

As always, the final word of acknowledgement goes to Andrea, Ben, and Christine, a marvellous collective of world and world-class musicians if there ever was one. Thanks for being there as we encountered world music at home and abroad, at border-crossings and on concert stages, wherever and whenever we seized the opportunity.

Philip V. Bohlman

# 前言

21 世纪初的今天，人们若要界定世界音乐，免不了会陷入赘述的窘境。世界音乐是我们在世界任何地方都能遇到的那种音乐。世界音乐可以是民间音乐、艺术音乐，也可以是流行音乐；其从业者可以是业余的，也可以是专业的。世界音乐可以是宗教的、世俗的，也可以是商业的；其表演者可能强调本真性，同时也可能需要倚重媒介的作用将音乐传播到尽可能广大的市场。世界音乐的消费者可以随心所欲地消费这样的音乐；他们可能将其看作自己的音乐而加以颂扬，也可能沉迷于其异国情调。往日的定义和特点不再适用；世界音乐可以是西方的，也可以是非西方的，可以是原声的，也可以是混合了电声的。世界音乐的世界没有界限，因而人人皆可进入世界音乐之门。人们完全有充分的理由将任何音乐都称为世界音乐。

世界音乐必然要牵扯到另外一个同样难以界定的时代现象——全球化。到 2001 年年底，尤其是“9·11”事件发生以后，人们再也不可能否认全球化的冲击，这样的冲击甚至见于各地街头巷尾的现实生活里。全球化依然难以确定，更何况界定，但很少有人不承认这一点：全球化在话语中和现实中是自相矛盾的。全球化好坏参半，它是一种可贬可褒的世界观，是一种可以牵制世界的力量，同时其发展也必定需要外力的牵制。

我们可以认为全球化有两层意义，确切地说，全球化开辟了面对世界的两条道路，大多数人都要择一而行。

全球化的两层意义象征了当今人们理解“世界音乐”的两种互相矛盾的方法。在本书中，我借助这两重意义来考察当今什么是世界音乐，以及相关的种种悖论等问题。对许多人来说，世界音乐表现了这个世界上的许多正面事物，确切来说，表现了通过音乐与音乐创作而将人们凝聚到一起的可能性。世界音乐的数量——在广播里，在光碟中，在因特网上，在大学课堂里，在有不同读者群的图书中——从未如此庞大过。每当人们颂扬全球化时，总能听到世界音乐。

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世界音乐也有阴暗的一面。它可能让人们担忧，担心我们正在失去许多本土的东西。在赋予地球村空间以特权的同时，世界音乐同质化的后果威胁到乡村的习俗。世界音乐的全球传播，靠的是跨国唱片公司对资源的挪用，其主要兴趣在于盘剥文化资源。融合与跨界也许会丰富一些世界音乐的风格，但也会使另外一些风格枯竭。21世纪伊始，人们对全球化的话语和现实议论纷纷，令世界音乐遭人诟病。

就本书而言，我试图采取中间立场。一方面，我恳请读者用批判的眼光去看待音乐家和经纪人从事世界音乐活动时是如何挪用、盘剥传统音乐的，另一方面也希望读者意识到当今丰富的世界音乐是如何为我们提供机会，让我们体验到人类社会前所未有的多样性的。我所持的中间立场并不回避全球化这一措辞或世界音乐话语中明显的二元意义，相反，这一立场努力描述相遇的空间，那也是世界音乐的历史发展的空间。因此，本书的中间立场也给了我机会来尽力解决本套丛书所有作者都面临的困境：在人为设置的局促篇幅里探讨宏大的题目。

倘若曾有“全球化”真正遍及全球的那一刻，那似乎是在

2001年的夏季和秋季，当时我完成了本书的最后修订。全球化这一措辞已经达到了新的高度，该词本身已经家喻户晓。在学术界，它已经成长为高级理论，很少有学科能够避开它某种程度的诱惑。无疑，2001年一系列大会的关键词是全球化：例如2001年5月18日到19日，我所在的大学举办了一次活动，称作“第三届年度全球化大会”。全球化当时似乎取得了成功，为形形色色来自世界各地的学者提供了理论和话语，这样他们便能够着手解决现代的重大问题。

更令国际社会的普通民众惊奇的是，全球化这一措辞竟能够有力鼓动他们同阶层的众多民众采取行动。2001年夏季，对全球化的争论可以说是“涌上了街头”。突出事件发生在七月中旬“八国集团峰会”举行之际，按惯例这一峰会将一个既定集体——“全世界七个最富裕的国家加上俄罗斯”——的代表聚到一起。2001年的峰会在意大利热那亚召开，会议招致了成千上万名抗议者，他们代表了广泛的政治主张，现在都归入“反全球化”之列。全球化这一措辞以人们所有想象得到的变化组合，裂变成无数时髦词语。人们谈论“全球贸易协议”和“全球变暖”、“全球市场”和“全球经济”。然而，这一措辞一旦用于解决眼下问题，便显得无能为力，当反全球化人士在当地街头引发骚乱时，他们同被召集来捍卫全球化事业的警察发生冲突，渐渐演变成一场导致破坏与死伤的对抗。

在“9·11”事件之后的一段时期，全球化这一措辞进入了一个全新的阶段。那些袭击本身针对的是全球化的“象征”——世贸中心和五角大楼。罪犯是“全球恐怖网络”的成员，需要组织“全球反恐联盟”以遏制他们的发展。世界文化与世界历史处于危机之中，因此有必要进行“全球规模”的反恐战争。全球化这一措辞传播开来，但是关于其真正的意义也有越来越多的解读。世界上有更多的人认为，自己更加直接地感受到了

全球化在他们生活中的存在，但很少有人能清楚地知道全球化是带来安逸的东西，还是令他们已知的世界不稳定的潜在因素。

2001年，关于全球化的各种观点毫无节制地滋生，这也让人们的世界音乐所具有的迥然不同的各种意义有了进一步的了解。世界音乐这个术语本身相对较新，可以说只有20年历史。20世纪80年代初之前，描述世界各地音乐的涵盖性术语还很少见，人们偏好以地域或体裁名称来描述音乐，例如有人所研究和撰述的是“非洲音乐”或“民间音乐”，而不是世界音乐。20世纪80年代，音乐人类学的研究领域转向我们所谓的大问题，并将比较法用于研究，跨学科的研究方法也被更有意识地使用，其结果是令世界音乐更加引人注目，正如在布鲁诺·内特尔（Bruno Nettl）极具影响的著述里所呈现的那样。也正是在20世纪80年代，世界音乐进入了大学音乐课程，这同样是由于人们意识到了研究全世界音乐的必要性。世界音乐最初是用来代替“西方艺术音乐”的，它在大学音乐课程里涉及的领域越来越多，激发人们广泛地重新思考音乐本身应该如何教学的问题。

世界音乐也是人们在大音像店新设楼层，或在书店CD部的“国际”唱片货架上见到的现象。这种世界音乐，无论何时我们走进咖啡连锁店，都能见到，其中有几家除了卖国际口味的混合咖啡外，还兜售自己制作的混搭世界音乐CD。简而言之，这种世界音乐是通过将传统音乐重新包装成流行音乐而销售的。同样，这种世界音乐的起源也可以回溯到20世纪80年代，当时唱片公司的主管和广告专家断定，英美和欧洲主流之外的流行音乐需要一个独特的名称。在20世纪80年代期间，唱片业在其他几个名称间举棋不定，如世界节拍、世界融合乐、民族流行乐，甚至是部落音乐和新世纪等。但是到了20世纪90年代，世界音乐这个名称得到最为广泛的流传。该名称本身是